1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
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into the yard; there is no procession now; people talk and laugh. A pottery jar, an *olla*, hung with tissue-paper streamers, is suspended about seven feet from the ground. This is the *piñata*. The smallest children, blindfolded, are first given a chance to break the *piñata* with a stick. They are turned about to confuse their sense of direction. Too good an aim is at first discouraged; a proper climax must be reached. When at last the jar is broken the children scramble in the dust for the scattered candies.

December 16–24.—The festal feeling grows during the nine nights of the *posadas*. The few gasoline street lamps, purchased by some of the neighborhoods, usually left dark, are burning in the street corners. More people are in the streets now after nightfall. The fireworks-makers are busy, selling the rockets they have been making for the *fiestas*. Every evening, in half-a-dozen places in the village, sheaves of light burst suddenly into the night. Some of the chapels are open; women come to pray or to light another candle. In the chapel of La Santísima, and perhaps in that of Santa Cruz, two *barrios* where Catholic religious ritual is most likely to be observed, there are *posadas* which the *mayordomo* of the *santo* has arranged. Then the procession moves slowly around the churchyard to the "old music." Mary and Joseph seek a lodging at the door of the chapel; admitted, the effigies are carried up to the altar. The prayers are said, and, as elsewhere, when the *piñata* song is sung, men who have been waiting outside the churchyard come in. The

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
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reason. Orange juice is bad because it keeps the teeth from coming out. Honey is hard on the stomachs of adults as well as children.

Children may be bathed once a week, but generally at about noon. They are wrapped in blankets like newborn infants and are then rubbed with alcohol "to make them warm."[1]

Children spend their time largely in or near the home, with the other members of the family. There is little organized play among groups of children. Games are few and simple: kites, hobbyhorses, balls. Boys early share in the simple tasks around the house, and girls, when yet very small, are instructed how to make *tortillas* and how to grind maize. Children enter as soon as possible into adult interests and occupations.[2] Confirmation takes place at about eight years.

It is generally recognized that people marry younger in the village of San Andres than in Tepoztlán and in the other hamlets. In San Andres girls marry as young as twelve, and boys when they are fourteen or fifteen. In Tepoztlán they marry at seventeen and nineteen, or later—"a few even as late as thirty." If the husband is already economically independent, he may bring his wife to a house and house site of his own. Very commonly, however, he has not yet secured his patrimony, and the newly married couple live with the bridegroom's parents or surviving par-

[1] There is probably occasional, but rare, artificial limitation of families. The principal informant said: "I like to bear children. There are some here who do not—who do not have children. I do not know how that is. But there are *curanderas* who know. They fix them [*descomponen*] with medicine. But that isn't good. God intended to punish us by having children. It is a mortal sin not to have them."

[2] No information was obtained on sex instruction or early sex experience.

2;Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

nales, refused to work side by side, and each organized separate shifts, one beginning at Tepoztlán and working toward Cuernavaca, the other working from Cuernavaca toward Tepoztlán.

Although the village *cuatequitl* is intended as a means of aiding the village as a whole, there are many obstacles to its successful operation, and it is gradually declining. Perhaps the fundamental difficulty is the inherent individualism of Tepoztecans, the suspiciousness and critical attitude toward the local government, and the paucity of local funds. The village *cuatequitl* has been traditionally associated in the minds of the villagers as a coercive rather than a voluntary institution. This may

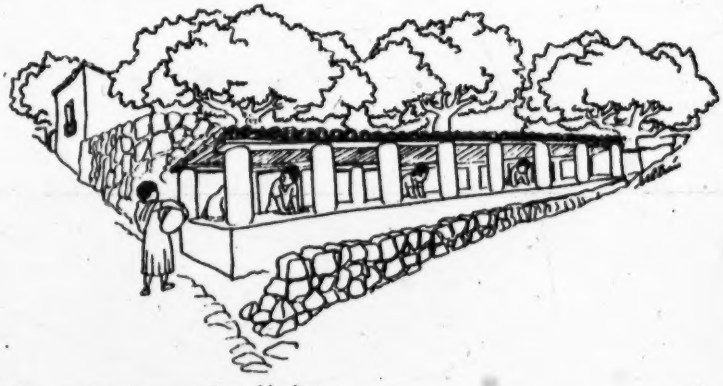

Fig. 20. The communal washbasins.

be the result of having lived under an authoritarian system in which the local government had been imposed for years. Since the local government, generally the *síndico* or the president, has the power to designate the citizens who are to work in the *cuatequitl*, there is ample opportunity for favoritism and vengeance against political opponents or personal enemies.

It may be significant in this connection that children in their games will often say, "Unless you do this I will give you your *cuatequitl*," suggesting that the *cuatequitl* is viewed as a punishment. It should also be noted that historically the existence of a native institution for collective labor was a distinct aid to the Spanish conquerors in their organization and control of the labor supply.

The second type of *cuatequitl* is the barrio *cuatequitl*. This is the collective working of the lands of the barrio saints. Barrio members are expected to cooperate in the preparation of the land, planting, cultivating, and harvesting of the crops from the saints' field. The sale of the produce goes for the upkeep of the local chapel. In contrast to the village *cuatequitl*, participation in the barrio *cuatequitl* is entirely voluntary. The barrio *mayordomo* goes through the barrio announcing at each house the time of the *cuatequitl*. While there are no fines or penalties for non-

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out being scolded; have more opportunities to exercise initiative; make choices; and develop their individuality. Such children also receives rattles, balls, dolls, wagons, etc., which the majority of small children in Tepoztlán do without. One of the wealthier families bought a toy automobile with pedals for a favorite grandchild, but large expenditures such as this are extremely rare. Even in poor families, there is indulgence toward the favorite child. In one very poor family, for example, the oldest daughter had no textbook for school because her mother had permitted the baby brother, a favorite child, to tear it up. This type of indulgence is unusual, because most Tepoztecan families are careful not to permit children to damage property.

There is little preoccupation with toilet training, and there is no conventional method or set time to accomplish it. There is almost no effort made to control urination during the first two years. If an infant tends to urinate too frequently, it is believed that the spleen is "cold" and should be warmed by an application of unguent of *altea* and hot tallow. Bathing the child in the *temascal* is another form of treatment.

Although expressions of disgust at having to clean up bowel movements are frequent, these do not appear to be related to any deep-seated repulsion. It is the rare mother who is persistent or methodical in training her children early in bowel control. Only two informants displayed any compulsion concerning toilet training and followed a rigid procedure with their children from the age of six months. It is the more acculturated mothers who give earlier and consistent attention to toilet training.

Most mothers take their children to the corral with them two or three times a day when the children are able to walk well. Before that time, children are scolded when they soil themselves and "are called 'little pig,' so that they will be ashamed." By the time children are sixteen months or two years of age, many mothers begin to spank them hard enough to make them cry for doing their "necessities" in the wrong place. At two, some children ask to have their pants removed and can go to the corral alone. Some are able to clean themselves with a stone or leaf or paper at this age. When a child is able to tie and untie his pants, usually by four or five, he is able to go independently. After age four, children are no longer permitted to accompany their mothers to the corral.

There is a tendency for mothers to be more lenient with boys, especially favorites, than with girls in toilet training, with the result that girls are trained earlier. They are spanked and scolded more consistently and harshly, and are required to be less demanding of assistance. Boys between the ages of two and five are occasionally seen playing in the patio naked from the waist down, but more "correct" people consider it very improper to permit boys to play without pants.

Infancy ends with weaning. A child who is nursed for less than two years is generally considered to be deprived. Most mothers nurse their infants until they know that they are again pregnant, which may not be until the fifth month after conception. It is a widespread belief that it is harmful to the child to nurse while

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not to inform the parents. In a few cases the younger child is the object of much hostility and rivalry on the part of his older siblings, and is subject to surreptitious abuse. In one case a three-year-old girl was hit and mistreated so often by her brothers and sisters, that, to protect her, her parents had to send her to stay with her grandmother.

Small children begin, at first in a passive way, to join the games of the older children as soon as they are able to understand what to do. Often the two-, three-, or four-year-old plays the part of the baby and is merely carried about, put to sleep, or fed in play. It is when they play at house, school, *compadres*, fiesta, baptism, musician, funeral, and other games imitating adult behavior, that the small child begins to learn the customs of the culture. Girls of five often beg for a little corn to grind and make into tortillas, or for a *rebozo* in which to wrap a rag doll. Boys of five imitate older boys' games, such as spinning tops or playing marbles. Other toys are rarely made or bought for children of this age group, and generally only favored children receive them. The majority of children content themselves with playing with sticks, stones, leaves, flowers, corncobs, etc. Pencils, crayons, and writing paper are considered too valuable for children to play with, and preschool children have very little experience with these articles, to say nothing of books and pictures.

It is difficult to get information concerning sex play of children. Questions about sex play of children received a blanket denial from parents, who maintained that their children are innocent and know nothing of life. But it is clear from the life stories we have taken that children have notions about sex, and sex play does occur secretively, particularly in playing house and at being *novios*. Girls of ten frequently teach smaller boys what to do.

For the most part children between two and four years of age are kept at home if there is someone to take care of them, because they are often too heavy to carry long distances and cannot walk well over the hilly, stone-paved streets. At four or five years, girls and boys often accompany their mothers to the plaza and may carry the can of corn or *nixtamal*. Some mothers report that their children are extremely timid when they first begin to go visiting or marketing, and nervous habits such as chewing at their clothing begin at that time.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

within the patio walls, at the beck and call of their mother. In many families there is a constant tug of war between parents and children over how much time is to be given to play. Children are more difficult to control, and some parents find it necessary to withdraw their children from school or to punish them frequently. In the past, by the time a child reached nine or ten years of age he seldom required a beating; he had learned to obey. Today, obedience from a child of school age, particularly a boy, is maintained by the parents with continued application of "a strong hand."

In general, boys have more freedom to play than girls. But even when boys still too young to go to the fields with their father are not required to work at home, it is thought highly desirable for them to play at home with brothers and sisters. More "careful" parents try to keep their young sons off the streets, to protect them from learning "malice" from other boys, who are invariably described as "bad companions." But, as we have indicated, it is difficult for the mother to control sons, in the absence of the father. Boys from the age of six to ten frequently are seen playing in the street.

With few exceptions, girls are much more under the control of their mothers than boys are. Girls play in snatches between errands and chores, and as they grow older, less and less time for play is available. The burden of household work usually falls on the eldest daughter, although in most families all girls over ten are pressed into continual service. There is a particularly sharp, consistent drop in the enrollment of girls in school after the fourth grade, and approximately half of the school girls between ages ten and eleven are withdrawn from school to help with the younger children at home. (See Fig. 58.) Under special circumstances—such as the death of either parent, the birth of a new sibling, or the inability of the mother to take care of many school children or many grown sons unassisted—a girl may be permanently withdrawn from school before the age of ten. By the time a girl is twelve or thirteen she is considered too mature to attend school because of the possibility of involvements with boys, and she is generally kept at home. A very small percentage of girls attend school until the sixth grade. They are usually, though not necessarily, from middle-group or better-to-do families and often continue their schooling to become teachers or dressmakers. These girls are almost the only girls in the village who enjoy daily leisure and have some personal freedom.

Children of school age play a wide variety of games, some of which are learned and played at school, but most games are learned from older children. In the latter group are some games which have in all probability been played for hundreds of years, and others were taught in the schools before and just after the Revolution. Most of the games played in Tepoztlán are well known in other parts of Mexico and Latin America.

A comparison of some of the old and new games reveals significant contrasts and is suggestive of the type of influence being exerted by the school. The older games are characterized by quiet play, relatively little physical exertion, little or no

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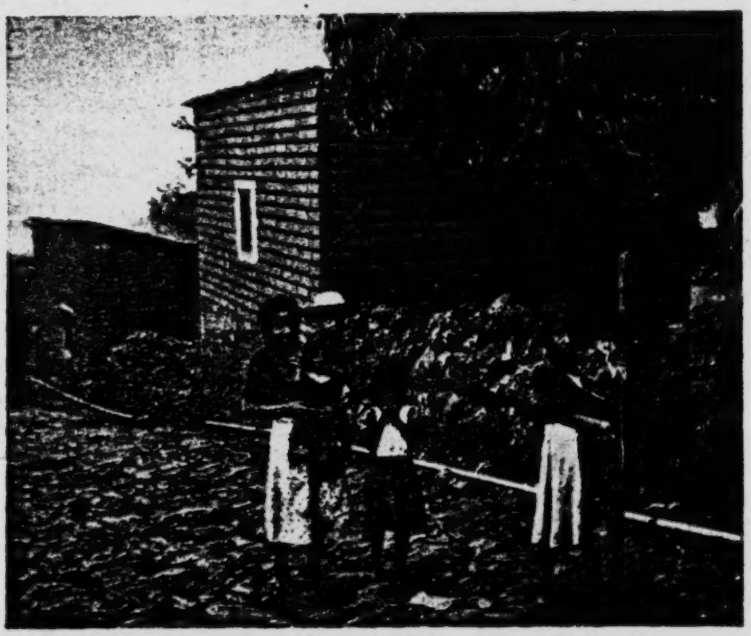

Fig. 58. Child nurses.

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physical skill or individual competition (except for marbles and tops), and loosely organized play groups. These games also reflect, to a striking degree, the customs, religion, and temperament of the people. Most of the older games involve running and tagging, singing, responding, and imitating adult life. Choosing between alternatives and receiving punishment in the form of work tasks are also common features.

In contrast, the games taught at school are those in which teamwork, competition, scoring, definite goals, loyalty, leadership, sportsmanship, and physical exertion have an important place. This is especially true of games organized for boys and older girls. These games are popular among the young people and are played with enthusiasm.[1]

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The range of activities of boys and girls varies widely insofar as work, school, and play are concerned, and can best be appreciated by describing some cases. The following brief accounts of three boys and three girls represent both the extreme and the middle-of-the-road type. The extreme of more work than play, and almost no schooling, is perhaps the most widespread situation in Tepoztlán.

[1] See Appendix F, p. 491, for list of games most commonly played in school and at home by Tepoztecan children.

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F. CHILDREN'S GAMES PLAYED IN TEPOZTLAN

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La Marisola (for girls): A circle is formed by players holding hands. One player seats herself in the center. The players move clockwise and sing, while one of the players covers the face of the center girl with a piece of cloth. At this all players run away, and the center player uncovers her face and chases them. The first player caught then goes to the center.

Doña Blanca (for girls): A circle is formed by holding hands. One player, Doña Blanca, is inside the circle, and another, the Hornet, is outside. The circle turns as the players sing: "Doña Blanca is covered with pillars of gold and silver. We will break a pillar to see Doña Blanca." The players drop hands, and the Hornet chases Doña Blanca.

Pares y Nones, or Odds and Evens: A circle is formed with one player in the center. The players hold hands and turn, singing, "We are going to play odds and evens. He who remains alone will lose." At the end of the song players quickly seek a partner and embrace. The one who remains alone goes to the center.

Naranja Dulce, or Sweet Orange:[1] A circle is formed by holding hands. One player is in the center. The circle turns and the players sing:

Sweet orange,
Sliced lemon,
Give me a hug
I ask of you,
Play the march, Pecho,
My heart weeps
Farewell, Lady,
I leave you now.

The players take leave of each other by shaking hands, and another player is then chosen to be in the center.

Gato y Ratón, or Cat and Mouse: A circle is formed. One player, the Mouse, is in the center, and another, the Cat, is outside the circle. The Mouse attempts to leave the circle and return without being caught.

Pan y Queso, or Bread and Cheese: Small circles are drawn for each player except one who goes to the center. This player then asks each player in turn if he will buy bread and cheese. The answer is always no, but meanwhile players are slyly exchanging places. The one in the center can "steal" a circle by being quicker than the players exchanging circles.

Encantados, or Enchanting: A group of players count from one to seven. The one who is number seven is the enchanter, who chases all the players and seeks to enchant them with a tap. A player who has been tapped must stand still until disenchanted by a tap from another player.

Another version of this game is played with two groups, the enchanters and the enchanted. The latter stay on three bases, and seek to run from one base to another without being enchanted by the other side. When all are enchanted, the groups change sides.

A la Roña, or Tag: The one who is "it" or has the *roña* chases the others and tries to pass on the *roña* by touching them.

[1] Elsewhere in Mexico this game is part of another called *La Despedida.*

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524 *La Penuna and Pinocho, or Long Nose:* A player counts the others in the group by saying *penuna, pendos, pentres, pencuatro, pencinco, penseis, pensiete, penocho.* The eighth one drops out, and the counting is renewed, with the eighth one always dropping out. The one player who remains is "it" and is called "*pinocho*" (long nose), and he must chase the others. The first one tagged is then *pinocho.*

A que te Robo un Alma, or Stealing a Soul: The eldest player is first, and all but one of the players line up behind him, holding each other by the waist. The one who steals souls says, "I bet I'll steal a soul from you." The first defender says, "I bet you don't." The former then attempts to pull one of the players out of the line. If he succeeds, he punishes the "soul" by assigning a task such as, "Stay here and guard these ninety cows."

This game is similar to one, Catholic in origin, in which the struggle is between the good angel and the devil. When the devil captured a soul, he sent it to hell.

A la Cebolla, or Onions: All but one of the players seat themselves one behind the other. The remaining one, the buyer, takes a little stick and uses it to examine the head of each "onion" to see whether it is ready to be pulled up. He then attempts to pull out one player, who is held down by the others. If the buyer succeeds, he assigns the "onions" a task as a punishment.

[171] *La Campanita de Oro, or the Little Golden Bell:* Similar to *London Bridge.* Two players join hands to form an arc. The rest of the players get in line and pass under the arc singing:

Little golden bell
Let me pass,
With all my children
Who are behind me.

The last one to pass under is held and asked, "With whom do you wish to go?" The player chooses one and lines up behind her. The line continues to pass under the arc and sing until all the players are behind one or the other who form the arc. There is then a tug of war to see which one is the winner. In other parts of Mexico this game appears as part of the *Sea Serpent.*

La Vibora del Mar, or the Sea Serpent: Similar to the *Little Golden Bell.* The chant sung is:

The serpent, serpent of the sea
Here it can pass by.
Those in front run fast,
Those in back will be left behind;
A Mexican girl selling fruit:
Plums, apricots, muskmelons, and
Watermelons.

The players divide up into two groups, by choosing one of the latter two fruits, and a tug of war determines the winning side.

Qué Flores Somos, or What Flowers Are We; The group divides in half; one group gives the names of flowers to each player. The second group approaches and says, "We have come so that you will sell us a flower." The first group answers, "Yes, tell us which flower to offer." If a flower named belongs to one of the group, that player must run and be chased by one of the other group. If caught, she is assigned a task; if not caught, she returns to her group.

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Los Santos Viejos, or the Old Saints: Three players are purchasers; the rest each choose to be a saint, imitating a characteristic pose. The purchasers go from saint to saint examining each to see if they wish to buy it. The saint they decide to purchase runs away. If she is caught by the purchasers, she is given a task to do.

Los Listones, or the Ribbons: Three players are purchasers, the rest are "ribbons," each of a designated color. The three purchasers approach saying, "tan, tan." The others ask, "Who it is? What do you wish?" They answer, "A ribbon." "What color?" is then asked. When a correct color is named, the "ribbon" must run and be chased by the purchaser. If caught, she is punished.

La Mama Cochina, or the Mother Pig: One player is the mother pig who must cook the *atole*. The other players are visitors who ask for an herb. The mother pig says, "Go and pick some." They answer, "We don't want to because of the dog, or coyote," etc. The mother pig then agrees to pick some if they will stir the *atole*. When she leaves, the visitors shout that the *atole* has burned, and they run away followed by the mother pig. She punishes all those caught, by giving them work or by hitting them.

El Perrito Ladrón, or the Thieving Little Dog: The players form one line. One player says, "How many little dogs are there in the oven?" The others respond, "Twenty-one burned ones." "Who burned them?" "The thieving little dog." "Burn them, burn them for stealing." The last one leads the line under the arms of the first, and the line faces the other way, with the second player's arms crisscrossed. After each chant, the line files through until everyone stands with crisscrossed arms.

Spinning Tops (for boys): A circle is drawn on the ground and some coins are placed within. If a top touches a coin and leaves the circle, the player wins the coin. There are several other variations of top games in Tepoztlán.

Marbles (usually for boys): A hole is made and a line drawn at a distance of about two meters. The players throw their marbles, and the one nearest the line is first player. The marbles are then thrown into the hole. If successful, the player gets three points, and his marble is placed a span's length from the hole and directed at other marbles nearby. If another marble is struck, the player wins three points. The first to earn twenty-one points wins one or two marbles.

Kite-flying: Popular among boys.

Games imitating adult life (played by girls and small boys). 857

A la Casita, or House: Building a house of mud, stones, branches, boxes, and blankets and providing it with furnishings, and often including a father, mother, and children.

A la Comidita, or Cooking: Cooking and eating a meal.

A la Madrina, or Godmother: Acting out all the steps in requesting someone to be godmother, baptizing the child, and feasting afterward.

A la Plazita, or Market Place: Each child sets up a stand of fruits, leaves, etc., and buys and sells each other's wares.

A la Milpa, or Farming: The boys go to work in the fields, and the girls carry food to them.

A la Procesión: A religious parade carrying a saint, candles, and flowers. One child takes the part of the priest.

Al Muertito, or Funeral: Acting out a child's funeral with a doll.

A la Cantina, or Drinking: Selling punch, alcohol, and drinks; becoming drunk, shouting, and falling down like drunkards.

A la Piñata: Several children contribute five centavos each to buy peanuts or candy

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857 which is placed in a jar as during the Days of the Posadas. The jar is hung high, and the children try to break it with sticks. The one who breaks it gets a spanking, and all eat the contents.

A los Novios, or Sweethearts: The children divide into couples or sweethearts. One is the mother of the girls. When she sends the girls on errands, they are stopped by their sweethearts. When the girls return home late, they are scolded and spanked by their mother.

Al Vestido, or Dressing Dolls (for girls): Making dresses for dolls out of leaves or bits of cloth.

A los Músicos, or Musicians (usually for boys): Imitating local bands of musicians.

A los Chinelos, or Dancers: Dressing in paper masks and *rebozos* or rags to make costumes and jumping like *chinelos* to their own music.

A los Toros, or Bullfighting: The girls or small domestic animals generally take the part of the bull and the boys, the part of the matador.

A Escuelita, or School: Playing school.

A la Iglesia, or Church: A group of girls make an altar, kneel before it, and place flowers and candles on it.

Al Viaje, or Traveling: Traveling in a train or bus.

Al Doctor, or Doctor: Imitating *curanderos* and local methods of curing with herbs, massages, and cleansings.

521 NEW GAMES TAUGHT IN SCHOOL

Futbol, or Soccer Game (for older boys): This game is extremely popular, and some young men continue to play it even after marriage.

Vollibol, or Volleyball (for boys and girls of the upper grades).

Beisbol, or Baseball (for older boys and youths).

Basketbol, or Basketball (for older boys and youths).

524 *Rey de Círculo, or King of the Circle:* A large circle of about three meters in radius is drawn on the ground. All players enter the circle and try to push each other out. The last one to remain is King of the Circle.

La Metralla, or the Cannon: Two groups hold hands and form circles, one inside the other. Each circle pushes against the other in an effort to break through.

Qué Peces Somos, or What Fish Are We: A large outer circle is formed, each player standing inside a small circle. In the center are four players. The outer circle selects the name of a fish and advances slowly saying, "What fish are we?" If one of the inner circle guesses correctly, all players dash to the outer circle to secure a small circle in which to stand. The four who remain with no small circle must go to the center.